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Fig. 90. Drawing indicating how the spindles are arranged inside a Chiriguano hut. They are threaded into the holes made along a bamboo which is hung against the walls of the habitation. (1/9 nat. size.)

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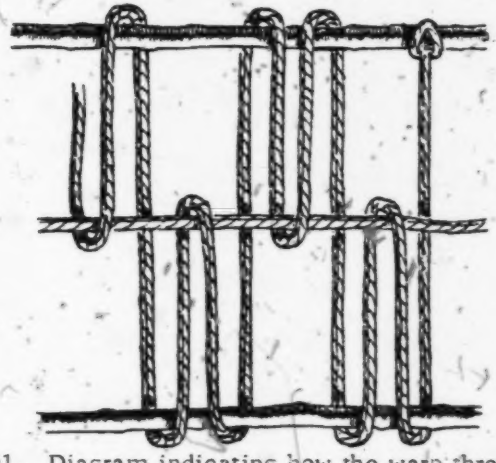

Fig. 91. Diagram indicating how the warp threads are arranged on a Chiriguano loom of the "Arawak type" (from Nordenskiöld).

/460 cont./

Fans or Fire-blowers

C 372 184 [171] Great was my surprise when upon arriving in the Chiriguano villages of the upper Pilcomayo region I found fire fans identical with those of the Indians of Brazil and the Guianas. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 56) barely mentions them and insists on their rarity. The fact is explained by the absence of this cultural element in all the rest of the zone inhabited by the Chiriguano. In most of the villages they use old hats or fragments of baskets to fan the fire.

C 372 285 Plate LXXXV. Length, 28.5 centimeters; width, 31 centimeters. Provenance: Saladito.

The making of these fans is rather simple. The leaves composing them cross in a rhythm of two. On the edge the stalks have been bent back and, passing again across the fabric, are interlaced to form a pucker on each side. The free ends /Plates LXXXIII-LXXXV appear here/ /461/ have been plaited on top and one part passed into a split stick forming the handle (Fig. 117).

C [171] An important remark must be made on the subject of these fans. They /Fig. 117 appears here/ differ little from the fans made of a single pinnate palm leaf, such as are found in Brazil and Paraguay. The Chiriguano, having no palm trees of this C [824] species in their new homeland, had to /Fig. 118 appears here/ adopt the palmate leaves of the karandaí. They replaced the petiole, which forms the handle, with the split stick to which I have alluded. (Max Schmidt, 2, Figs. 106 and 107, pp. 219-220.)

C 285 /462/ "Flowers"

353 797 [824] On feast days the Chiriguano of the Franciscan missions decorate the church with artificial "flowers" which they make from leaves of karandaí palms. These decorations are of ancient origin and derive directly from the straw amusements /jeux/ still made by the Indians in various /Fig. 119 appears here/ regions of America, notably in the Guianas. The natives of the G 285 353 latter region often hang them in their houses where they perhaps

[See P. 322 --Analyst]
[Text continues on P. 324]

1: Métraux--323 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guiana SR1
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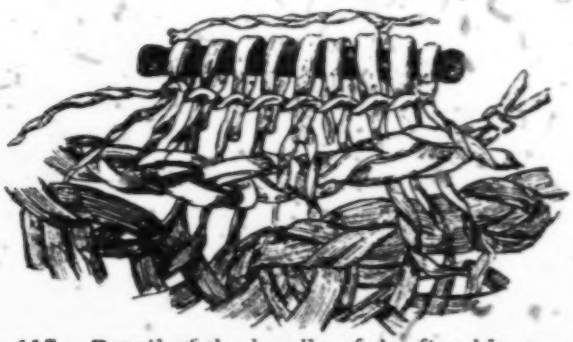

Fig. 117. Detail of the handle of the fire-blower of Plate LXXXV.

C
G
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778

Fig. 118. "Flower," ornament made of plaited palm leaves, which the Chiriguano have blessed and with which they decorate their huts. The technique of this object is very ancient and is found also in Guiana. (1/4 nat. size.)

Guiana SR1
Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

G
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/462 cont /

serve as amulets, and, in any case, as ornaments. (Roth. pp. 497-499. Figs. 241-244 and p. 270; Koch-Grünberg, 2, Vol. II, p. 244.) In the same way the Chiriguano Indians decorate their huts with these figures, which they take care to have blessed. Exactly as in Europe they keep palm branches as lucky charms. Rosen (1, p. 61, Fig. 51) publishes a similar straw amusement which he found among the Choroti and which was pointed out to him as an ornament worn on the forehead. This explorer suspects the exactitude of this information and supposes that a ritual object is concerned. In reality, it is only a "flower," which the Choroti described by Rosen probably received or bought in some Chiriguano mission. It is enough to compare the figure of it that he gives us and ours in order to be convinced of this.

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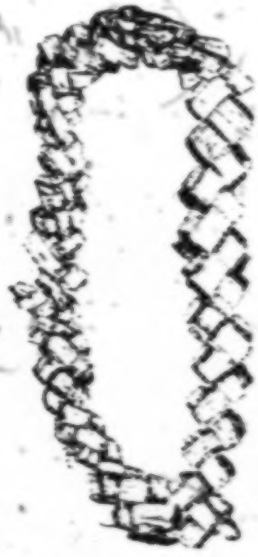

A
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Fig 119 Wreath of plaited palm leaves (amusement or ornament?). Ashluslay. Prov.: Estero Patiño. (1/4 nat. size.)

A
C
Ci
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171

Figures made of palm leaves are not, however, unknown to the other Indians of the Chaco. The Ashluslay sold me a diadem braided according to this principle (Fig. 119) and Rosen (1 Fig 44, p. 48) reproduces an identical head-ornament which he bought from a Choroti tribe.

/470 cont./
352 and Arawak tradition. Some hammocks, not many, are crudely
[286] woven. The threads which /Fig. 126 appears here/ compose
[197] them are of wool; formerly they were doubtless of cotton (Plate XXXVIII).

352 It is a delicate business to persuade a Chiriguano mother to
854 sell you the hammock of her nursling. She fears that an /Plate
754 LXXXVIII appears here/ /471/ evil-intentioned person will profit by the fact that the fabric is impregnated with urine, in order to indulge in magical practices which would make the newborn child die.

342
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Fig. 124. Chiriguano hut. Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (Photo. A. M.)

353 Along the walls are lined up vessels of all dimensions
[415] which /Figs. 127 and 128 appear here/ are kept there for the drinking feasts; some contain seed, others serve as linen cupboards or provision bags. On the walls, generally in the four
[352] corners, hang reed screens or hoops made of palm leaves /Fig. 129 appears here/ which take the place of shelves (Figs. 126 and 129).

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 342]

/471 cont./

353 and 127). Everything in the world can be found there: small vessels, baskets, boxes, packages carefully wrapped in cloth, in short, a thousand little objects which the Chiriguano women regard as their treasure. From the roof hang hooks from which [414] are suspended household effects or supplies. These hooks are [237] generally of wood, but there are some also which are formed by a deer foot bent back and dried in the sun (Fig. 128).

Every chink in the walls is transformed into a hiding-place where the women put their scissors, the men their knives or combs. /472/ Bows and arrows are slipped between the struts of the roof.

In some huts whose walls are plastered with earth, the Indians arrange niches in the shape of swallows' nests, which serve as rudimentary cupboards. Might there be in that a distant remembrance of the niches so characteristic of Inca houses? It is possible.

352 The inhabitants of each hut sit on the cots or on /Figs. 516 130-132 appear here/ chairs with backs very well copied from [177] those of the creoles. The women generally squat on the ground. [178] On the upper Pilcomayo, one still finds benches with two seats (Fig. 129), a cultural element which the Chiriguano inherited from their ancestors of the Amazon basin.

356 The fire for cooking is lighted in the middle of the hut. [354] Chiriguano dwellings are clean. I have never caught fleas or other vermin there as I have in the ranchos of creoles or half-breeds. The women sweep their huts at least once a day. One is rarely disturbed there by mice (Fig. 132).

4: Nino--234 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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Partial View of Modern Chiriguano House

/178 cont./

353 [356] Chiriguano towns attract the attention of all travelers and explorers because of the cleanliness which reigns in their houses, which, despite having a notable quantity of furnishings, are well kept up through the assiduous work of the mistress of the house. [415] [352] Jars with wide mouths are in the corners; those with narrow mouths, in which the chicha must ferment, lean vertically against the walls; the plates and spoons are on small triangular tables of hollow cane in the corners; small ollas are placed inside the empty large pots, and these in times of abundance, and even in times of scarcity, are full, some with shelled maize, others with beans and gourd seeds, and others with wool and cotton for making ponchos, blankets, or outer garments.

[824] [251] /179/ Above, at an appropriate height, they hang a mat of hollow cane or little sticks well tied together well with Ivi, or ceiba, and there they put other trifles or small things, when they do not have anything else to put there, such as cheeses and charqui, or dried meat. The mat is usually hung on one side of the house on one of the rafters by means of thongs of cowhide or other material. They are placed there so as not to be in the way of those who must pass beneath (1).

[824]

1. The Ivi is a species of ceiba, samuu, but it does not have points like the latter. There is another called Cuari or Tayipiruru, which is very straight, has very strong fibers, and is only cut at the branches in order to pull off the bark. A fourth type of ceiba is called Iviru guasu; it is large and smooth. Each type has its congenial place, like every tree.

Finally, in the corners of the house or where it is most convenient, up high, they put one or more cords, which form an angle from one wall to the other, and there each member of the family puts his own clothing and the men hang the harness of their beasts of burden. Today the Chiriguano who are not lazy are not so poor, and when one enters a house one is amazed by all the abundance of furnishings so well arranged.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

received from their kinsfolk at Mojos, or they may even have brought it with them when they migrated to their present abode. Nowadays the Chiriguano and Chané commonly use chairs of the type they have learned from the whites. They are made by themselves in the missions.

I have a rush mat from the Chané. Both the Chiriguano and the Chané have skin mats. I have already spoken of such mats in Part I of this work. The skin mat is naturally a southern culture-element.

The Chiriguano and Chané keep their belongings either hung from the ceiling or else on the floor. Clothes and other fragile things are often kept in large earthen vessels — a method of keeping one's belongings which I have not seen anywhere else. Cobo[1]) says that the Incas kept their clothes in a similar way.

It is very common among the Chiriguano and Chané to fix wooden hooks in the roof of their huts on which to hang their belongings (fig. 4). Elsewhere I have only seen these hooks among the Churápa. In the Gothenburg Museum there is a collection by Liljewalch and Thulin of hooks made by Indian tribes on the Roraima. The only mention of them that I am aware of in literature on the subject is from the Araucanians.[2]) Small articles of this kind are, of course, easily overlooked, wherefore it is not at present possible to draw a map of their distribution. This is to be regretted, as the distribution of such small objects would offer points of great interest. It seems to me not unlikely that the wooden hook is an Andine culture-element. Within my sphere of work the hook does not occur among other Indians than those mentioned here.

Small articles are kept by the Chiriguano and Chané in cloth and leather bags, wooden boxes, baskets, armadillo scales, the scrotum of bulls, and in calabashes with or without lids.

[1]) Cobo Vol. 4, P. 171.
[2]) Latcham (1) P. 338.

[Text continues on P. 22]

Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

I have not seen wooden boxes anywhere else, and scarcely think they are genuinely Indian. I shall return to the subject of baskets.

Except among the Chiriguano and the Chané, I have only seen the scales of the armadillo used as boxes among the Mataco, and there only as a curiosity. They are, however, known from the Guyaqui[1]), from the Indians of Roraima[2]) and from Indians in N. W. Brazil[3]). The sewn baskets of armadillo scales which are sold in the curiosity-shops of Buenos Aires probably hail from Paraguay, and it is not impossible that here, too, we have to do with an original Indian idea.

The fat of various animals which is used for healing is usually kept by the Chiriguano and Chané in shells, especially those of the *Borus oblongus*.

I shall return to the subject of calabashes.

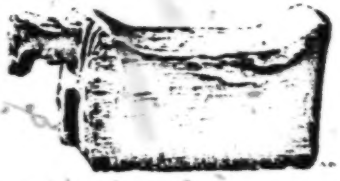

Fig. 3. Seat of wood from the Chiriguano. G. M. 15. 1. 178. 1/6

Fig. 4. Wooden hook. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 600. 1/6

[1]) Kühner fig. 15.
[2]) G. M.
[3]) Koch-Grünberg (2).

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XVI.

Carrying-implements.

In Part I have already mentioned that the Chiriguano and Chané use carrying-nets, and never baskets, when carrying burdens on long journeys, when bringing home the produce of their fields, or when bearing water long distances. The method is for the band of the carrying-net to be fastened around the forehead, the burden resting on the back. If the water is near the village, they often bear the pitcher on their shoulders and, now and then, at the mission-stations, on their heads. In contradistinction to the negroes, however, the Indians are never seen carrying burdens on their heads while on journeys.

In Part I there is a map (25) showing the geographical distribution of the carrying-net. As has been proved by the excavations of UHLE[1]) at Arica, the carrying net must be a very old culture element in S. America.

Calabashes are sometimes put inside a net (fig. 30) in order that they may be carried more easily. A calabash in a net is, of course, easily hung up on a hook in the roof of the hut.

Earthen vessels are sometimes hung up in the same way. These have then more or less the shape of calabashes. BOMAN[2]) depicts an earthen vessel hung up in this way from Calama.

In my collection of earthen vessels there is one from the Chiriguano, and another from the Chané, which are intended to be carried by a string running round the vessel

[1]) (10) P. 12.
[2]) Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 180.

C
Ce
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171

/177 cont./ one also sees hammocks in the huts but they are not common. The hammock is native to tropical South America, but it disappears toward the south and in the mountains, for there it is too cold to use it. /Figs. 85 and 86 appears here./

Ce
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417

Fig. 84a. Maize granary. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

C
Ce
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[251]

From the roof of the hut, on hooks and racks, hang clothing and provisions, medicine, and other things. Here the men also keep their bows and arrows, their drums, and similar things. Maize ears are hung by liana loops.

C
352
171

/178/ Now and then one sees a seat carved out of wood (Fig. 85) in a shape especially familiar from the Brazilian Indians.

C
Ce
415
[353]

A great many clay vessels of all dimensions are always standing along the walls of the huts. Some of them are so large that a man could crawl into them. There /179/ are pots, there are

Ce
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291
854

Fig. 87. Chané woman. Rio Parapiti. She has a water jug in the carrying net.

C
Ce
415

roasting bowls, there are handsomely painted vessels which are brought out for the festivals, and there is the treasure pot, in which the housewife keeps all the valuables and souvenirs of the family. In it, if the home is "well-to-do," lie clothing,

C
Ce
[556]

352 [114] been imitated from the Europeans. The Chiriguano also sleep in hammocks [171] made of cotton yarn, and on reed mats and skins spread on the ground. [513] Stools for sitting on I have not observed among the Chiriguano. They do, however, possess such articles of furniture,[1] which, however, must be of ●353 considerable rarity. Along the walls of the hut will be seen an orderly 415 array of cooking and roasting pots, water pitchers, and pots for maize [531] beer, arranged in rows, often of exceedingly beautiful shape and with painted decoration (figs. 217—225). From wooden hooks in the roof are hanging bunches of maize cobs, pumpkins or other foodstuffs; arrows, bows, and other gear. From the roof there are also suspended clay bowls (figs. 224 and 225), used as repositories for smaller articles of value. Clothing, ornaments, and such like, are also stored in large clay jars placed on the ground. As bowls there are also used the scaly skin of armadillos, and calabashes (fig. 226).

[352] →

[291] [302] [411] [415] ←

[237] [824] →

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Fig. 194. Man and young woman. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

Outside every hut there is, as I mentioned, a fireplace which is generally used for cooking the food, unless the weather makes this impossible. The huts, as well as the open spaces between them, are kept particularly neat and clean. They are swept every day, and the sweepings are burnt. The huts are practically always free from vermin.

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291 [177] The Chiriguano men nowadays generally wear shirt and trousers of European cut (fig. 194). The poncho shirt is, however, still to be met with among this tribe[2], but only very rarely, and I have never personally

[1] Nordenskiöld (18), p. 163 and fig. 85 (22), pp. 13 and 16, and fig. 3.
[2] Nordenskiöld (22), p. 32.

/79 cont./

We must still note that the Chiriguano and Chané transport fish in the same way as the neighboring tribes of the Chaco, by stringing them on a cord provided with a big wooden needle (295).

295. Nord. 7, p. 47.

Implements for Storing Objects

Most of the objects that serve for storing things have also been mentioned in preceding chapters, such as the various kinds of baskets and the wooden hoops which are hung in the houses for storing sundry things in them. The net bag and the carrying net do not serve only for carrying, but also for storing things in them. Baked clay vessels are not only used for storing liquids, but are also used for storing many other things which have a special value or are old memorabilia of the family (296). Furthermore,

296. Nord. 1, p. 179.

they put up special hooks for hanging various things in the houses. Such a hook is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (297),

297. Nord. 1, p. 177 and Fig. 86.

and Métraux shows such a hook made of a deer's leg (298).

298. Métraux I, Fig. 128.

Art

Flutes and a Whistle in the Collection

I.A. 491. Flute, "sererê" (Chirig.). Wood. Lgth. 17 cm. Width 2.7 cm. (Fig. 33b.)

I.A. 492. " " " " " 20 cm. Width 3.5 cm. (Fig. 33a.)

I.A. 493. Flute (Chiriguano). Cane. Length 43 cm.